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A Dated Gandhāra Figure.—By ALFRED WILLIAM STRATTON,
late Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, India.

[Alfred William Stratton, the author of the following paper, died in Kashmir in August, 1902. The MS. of the "Dated Gandhāra Figure" was presented to the Society at its annual meeting in April of that year, and but for the fact that the author wished to revise it, would have been published in the twenty-third volume of the Journal. It is apparent that his premature death prevented thorough revision on the part of the author, but the article seems well worthy of publication both as a contribution to science and as a memorial of a promising scholar. Dr. Stratton may have owed his position as Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, in the Punjab, partly to the fact that he was of English blood, but native worth was the chief factor in determining the choice of an American professor to succeed Dr. Stein. In the short time that elapsed after he gave up his chair at the University of Chicago, to go to India, Dr. Stratton had already proved himself equal to the task assigned him and given evidence of his ability to enter successfully a new field of work. This paper is the first fruit of his brief stay in India—as, unhappily, it is the last.—ED.]

WITH Dr. Vogel, the archaeological surveyor of the Punjab Circle, I spent a few days last April [1901] visiting places of archaeological interest in the Yūsufzai country. In Peshawar, Captain Waterfield, the Deputy Commissioner, showed us some pieces of Gandhāra sculpture which he had recently received from [near]¹ Cārsadda. The largest and altogether the most interesting of these was a figure very much like the one discovered by Colonel Deane at Sikri (and now in the Lahore Museum),

¹ See the note at the end of the article.—ED.

which has been supposed to represent Hārītī. To this the newly-found figure was much inferior in execution, but a dated inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters marked its importance for the determination of the age of the Gandhāra work. At Dr. Vogel's request, Captain Waterfield readily consented to place it in the Lahore Museum, where it now stands.

Captain Waterfield was unable to learn in what position the figure had been found. Dr. Vogel, however, intends soon to examine the remains in the neighborhood of Cārsadda, and will, no doubt, be able to ascertain the particulars of the discovery. The only inscribed pieces of Gandhāra sculpture hitherto found, the pedestal in the British Museum, of which an excellent photo-etching was given by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lviii, plate x, and the pedestal in the Lahore Museum, described by Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxv, p. 311, are from Cārsadda. It is to be hoped that careful search there will bring to light other dated pieces.

The new figure is cut in the blue slate that was regularly used for the sculptures of the Peshawar valley. The stone is in all four feet three inches long, but nine and a half inches at the base are uncut and must have been built into the structure it adorned: traces of the joining can indeed be seen. The back is plain.

This figure and the one discovered at Sikri evidently deal with the same subject. In each of them there is a child on each shoulder and one at the breast, and each of the children on the shoulders holds in one hand an object which, rudely cut in the new figure, seems in the other to be a pomegranate. In the new figure the woman (or goddess) holds in her right hand a bunch of grapes, to which a vine-leaf clings. Whether or not this would justify us in assuming that the earth-goddess is represented, I do not know. At any rate, it is a feature not characteristic of Hārītī.

Alike in subject, the two figures show little likeness in execution. In the earlier figure, of the children on the shoulders each holds by one hand to the mother's head; the one on the left is supported by the slight raising of her arm as her hand rests on her hip; one foot of the other is placed on the left shoulder of the third child, which she holds in her arm, its right hand cov-



FIG. I., p. 2.

ering the nipple of her right breast and its face turning upward in a natural way. In the new figure the children on the shoulders sit stiffly. Especially unnatural is the position of the one on the left, and one wonders how it can maintain its place on such a sloping seat. The third child buries its head in the mother's left breast, while its hands, raised above its head, lie flat against her garments.

In both figures the children are unnaturally small, but in the new one the disproportion is far greater than in the other. Only in this way, it would seem, could the sculptor indicate that they were children. Their heads, moreover, are small in proportion to their bodies, distinctly smaller in the new than in the earlier figure, where in the case of the child at the breast the head is of a natural size.

There is nothing of the child-look in the face of the one whose features can be clearly seen in the new figure. The hair of the one whose face is turned away falls in a thick mass to the neck, waving outward after a fashion that one sometimes sees now in grown men.

An utter lack of skill is shown in the proportions of the woman's figure. The position of her arms is stiff and unnatural. The draping of the outer garment is most crude: in fact, so far as I know, no other figure in the Lahore Museum is in this respect at all so poor. The workmanship of the Sikri figure is distinctly better: there can be little doubt that it is to be assigned to a much earlier period than the one found at Cārsadda.

In the earlier figure the breast to which the child clings is uncovered, but in the Cārsadda figure, arms and breast show designs that seem to represent a close-fitting sleeved jacket. A similar garment may be seen in the seated figure presented by Colonel Walker to the British Museum, which corresponds closely to I-tsing's description of the figures of Hāritī. The dressing of the hair is another point of resemblance between these two. Here again the new figure suffers by comparison.

Below the left arm is found the inscription of which mention has been made. It is in two lines. The characters in the lower line are for lack of space shorter than those in the upper line, the width, on the other hand, being in general the same throughout. Toward the lower end, the left of the inscription,

the surface of the stone has been slightly cut away, but here also in continuation of the upper line are four or perhaps five Kharoṣṭhī characters. Unfortunately the surface is throughout uneven, and three slight depressions running parallel with the inscription add to the uncertainty of the reading. With regard to several of the characters, especially among those in the lower line, I am in doubt. For the present I give only the following tentative reading of the upper line, which records the date:

VAŚRA EKUNAŚITAŚATIMAE [or EKANAVITAŚAT-
IMAE] AṢAḌASA MASASA 4 BUDHAVARA

The sixth is one of the uncertain characters. The cutting is not of the same depth throughout. A pointed stick, following the groove in the stone from the lower right hand, stops before reaching the downward curve on the left, so that one might believe that there are two characters. I was at first inclined to read *vi* (*navita* for *navati*), but the likeness to the character in the inscription found by Lieut. Maxwell in 1882 leads me to believe that it should be read *śi*. There is a slight depression to the left of the lower end of the *ka*, which may be the sign of *u*.

Then follows what appears to be a single character. The curve, however, on the right is longer than on any *ha* that I have seen, nor could that syllable be found in the record of the year. I accordingly prefer to regard it as a blending of *ta* and *śa*.

The next character is looped. There can be no doubt, I believe, that it is *tī*. On my impression of the Twelfth Edict of Aśoka at Shāhbāzgarhi I find a similar loop in the character at the end of the second line. The word *śatimae* is clear on the inscription of Guduphara.

Two forms of *śa* occur in the first line; a third, closed as in the inscriptions of Aśoka, is probably to be seen at the end of the inscription.

The surface, uneven everywhere, is particularly rough in the depressed part, where only one line is engraved. The determination of the meaning is very difficult. After much hesitation I now read the word *budhavara*. The first character is more like *va* than *ba*. At the upper end of the second there is traceable on the stone a slight curve to the left which cannot be



FIG. II., p. 4.

seen in the photograph: I judge that *dh* is intended. The third and fourth *va ra* are clear. Beyond these there is a distinct upright cutting, which merges into a shallow curve running upward to the left: this, I judge, cannot belong to the record of the date.

If the above reading is correct, the figure was set up on Wednesday, the 4th of the month Āṣāḍha in the year 179 (or 191). I find no mention of the lunar fortnight in which the reckoning was made. The month is now reckoned in the Punjab from full moon to full moon. This, I presume, may be supposed to have been the practice in the early centuries of our era. The date would then be the fourth day after the full moon.

The inscription found by Dr. Bellew, at Takht-î-Bahâi, records that the year 103 of an unnamed era fell in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Guduphara. The beginning of this era cannot be placed much earlier or later than the year 57 B. C., and it may well be that the reckoning was made by the Vikrama era. Nor is there any good evidence that more than one era was referred to in the dated inscriptions of the Gandhāra country. We may yet obtain records that will enable us to determine absolutely whether or not it was the Vikrama era that was adopted in these reckonings.

The first table in Sewell's and Dikshit's "Indian Calendar" does not include calculations for the first three centuries after Christ, but by the use of Professor Jacobi's thirteenth and fourteenth tables in the seventeenth volume of the Indian Antiquary and Sewell's and Dikshit's third table it may be found that the fourth day after the full moon of Āṣāḍha in the (expired) Vikrama year 179 (but not 191) fell on a Wednesday. I must add, however, that I am not at all sure of the correctness of such a calculation, since the results arrived at by that method for later years did not always agree with the calculations of the "Indian Calendar."

Allowing for all the uncertainty there is in the record of the date, it may safely be said that the work was executed not later than the first half of the second century after Christ; that is to say, earlier than the year 200 of the Vikrama era or an era nearly coincident with it. The figure from Sikri with which it has been compared must have been made considerably earlier. If this is so, Professor Senart's arguments in his discussion of

the age of the Gandhāra work in the *Journal Asiatique* are confirmed, while the dates assumed by Mr. Vincent A. Smith in his article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* must be definitively given up.

Through the kindness of Mr. Percy Brown, curator of the Lahore Museum, I am able to send the three photographs that accompany this paper; (I) the new figure; (II) the inscription on a larger scale, from a plaster cast; (III) the figure found by Colonel Deane at Sikri.

LAHORE, February 12th, 1902.

[In a letter to Dr. Stratton dated the 20th March, 1902, i. e. after this MS. had been sent to America, Dr. Vogel describes more exactly the place where the above-mentioned figure was found as being Skārah Dherī (or Derī), eight and one-third miles north from Cārsadda, which is the distance (but not the exact direction) mentioned by Cunningham, A.S.R. ii, p. 90, from Cārsadda ("Pushkalavatī Stūpa") to "a small Stūpa where Buddha had converted the mother of the demons." Dr. Vogel adds that the image shows some resemblance to the Lokapāla-statues, a fine specimen of which is in the Lahore Museum (Grünwedel² 127) and another "here (at Mardān) in the Mess." As to the date, Mr. Percy Brown, in a letter to Dr. Stratton dated 18th March (1902) says: "My impression is that that inscription is not contemporaneous with the figure; it has been added later. The slightly concave nature of the surface of that portion of the statue is in itself rather suspicious. This is always found in inscriptions that have been super-imposed; it is necessary, in order to get a suitable surface to work upon. But a still more convincing fact is the very evident sign of there having been originally folds of drapery where the writing is now incised. However, the date you have read, the first half of the second century after Christ, is about the date I should have reckoned the sculpture was carved, judging by the other specimens in the Museum; but of course that is only guess-work, whereas your date is conclusive. The inscription may have been added only a few years after the carving." These letters, together with the original MS. of the article, which had been left almost untouched by Dr. Stratton at the time of his death, were kindly forwarded by Mrs. Stratton to the editors of this *Journal* in December, 1902. The argument above would be affected by the modification of Guduphara's date suggested by Bhandarkar in the *Journ. Bomb. Branch R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 27 ("Gondophares began to reign in 155 A.D."); but this date is extremely doubtful.—ED.]



FIG. III., p. 6.